5

Nominal and prepositional phrases

This chapter discusses the structure of noun phrases, adjective phrases, and preposition phrases in Dutch. On pronouns, see appendix 1.

The chapter is organized as follows. Section 5.1 reviews the properties of noun phrases. The order of attributive modifiers is discussed in section 5.2. Section 5.3 deals with the structure of adjective phrases. Nominalizations are covered in section 5.4. Prepositions and preposition phrases are discussed in section 5.5.

5.1 Noun phrase structure

The main ingredients of the Dutch noun phrase, the determiner, the adjective, and the noun, are rigidly ordered:

(5.1) *Determiner–Adjective–Noun*

de	prachtig-e	eiland-en
DEF.PL	beautiful-PL	island-PL

'the beautiful islands'

While each noun phrase contains just a single determiner and a single noun, the adjectives may be iterated. For expository purposes, then, we may call the slots occupied by the determiner and the noun the left and right brackets of the noun phrase, which gives us an initial field to the left of the determiner, a middle field occupied by the adjective(s), and a final field to the right of the noun.

The left bracket contains the definite determiner (PL and CG.SG *de*, N.SG *het*) as well as a range of elements appearing in complementary distribution with the definite determiner. These include (at least) demonstratives (5.2a), possessive pronouns (5.2b), possessor noun phrases (5.2c), and indefinite determiners (5.3).

(5.2) a. *Demonstratives*

{deze/die}	prachtig-e	eiland-en
DEM:PROX/DIST.PL	beautiful-PL	island-PL

'these/those beautiful islands'

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b. *Possessive pronouns*
hun prachtig-e eiland-en
POSS:3PL beautiful-PL island-PL
'their beautiful islands'

c. *Possessive noun phrases*
Nieuw Zeeland=z'n prachtig-e eiland-en
New Zealand=PCL:M.SG beautiful-PL island-PL
'New Zealand's beautiful islands'
(instead of the possessive clitic, the prenominal possessor may also be marked by the suffix *-s*, yielding *Nieuw Zeeland's* instead of *Nieuw Zeeland z'n*)

(5.3) *Indefinite determiners*
a. een prachtig eiland
INDF.SG beautiful:N.INDF.SG island
'a beautiful island'
b. geen prachtig-e eiland-en
NEG.INDF beautiful-PL island-PL
'no beautiful islands'

Elements preceding these determiners and determiner-like elements occupy the initial field of the noun phrase. Their number is limited. To the left of the definite determiners and the determiner-like elements illustrated in (5.2) we find only the quantifiers *al* 'all' and *heel* 'whole':

(5.4) *The initial field in definite noun phrases*
a. al die prachtig-e eiland-en
all DEM:DIST.PL beautiful-PL island-PL
'all these beautiful islands'
b. heel Nieuw Zeeland=z'n prachtig-e archipel
whole New Zealand=PCL:3SG.M beautiful-DEF.SG archipelago
'the entire beautiful archipelago of New Zealand.'

The quantifier *al* fuses with the nondemonstrative plural definite determiner *de* to yield *alle*:

(5.5) al-le prachtig-e eiland-en
all-PL beautiful-PL island-PL
'all beautiful islands'

With *heel*, which takes a singular noun phrase, such fusion does not take place:

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(5.6) heel de reis
whole DEF.CG.SG voyage
'the entire voyage'

The distributive quantifier *elk* 'each' (and its interrogative counterpart *welk* 'which') does not cooccur with any of the determiners or determiner-like elements:

(5.7) elk-e (*Tasman=z'n) reis
each-CG.SG Tasman=PCL:3SG.M voyage
'each trip' [intended: 'each trip of Tasman's']

The fact that *elk*, just like *alle* (< *al de*), shows agreement with the noun suggests that it, like *al*, belongs to the nominal initial field.

With the negative indefinite determiner *geen*, the initial field remains unoccupied. With *een*, the initial field hosts deictic and exclamative elements like *zo* 'so,' *zulk* 'such,' *wat* 'what,' *wat voor (een)* 'what kind of,' *nogal* 'quite,' *hoe* 'how,' and *welk* 'which':

(5.8) *The initial field in indefinite noun phrases*

a. zo'n eiland
zo een
so INDF.SG island
'an island like that'

b. wat een eiland
Q.INAN INDF.SG island
'some island!'

c. wat voor een eiland
Q.INAN for INDF.SG island
'what kind of island?'

Some of these initial field elements can be seen to modify the adjective rather than the noun phrase as a whole. In (5.9–10), the examples have the same meaning, and the b-examples are more natural:

(5.9) a. een hoe groot eiland (is dat?)
INDF.SG how large island is that

b. hoe'n groot eiland (is dat?)
hoe een
how INDF.SG large island is that
'how large an island (is that?)'

(5.10) a. (dat is) een nogal groot eiland
that is INDF.SG rather large island

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b. (dat is) nogal een groot eiland
that is rather INDF.SG large island
'(that is) quite a large island'

It should be noted that the singular indefinite determiner *een* may combine with a plural head noun in all these constructions:

(5.11) a. wat een eiland-en
Q.INAN INDF.SG island-PL
'some islands!'

b. nogal een grot-e eiland-en
rather INDF.SG large-PL island-PL
'rather large islands'

The middle field of the noun phrase contains attributive adjectives, which agree with the head noun in the sense that there is a special zero ending for the adjective in indefinite singular noun phrases with a neuter noun (see (2.25–27)). In addition, the middle field contains (ordinal and cardinal) numerals, which generally precede the adjectives, and gerunds, which generally follow the adjectives:

(5.12) deze **twee** prachtig-e **nog te ontdek-ken** eiland-en
DEM:PROX.PL two beautiful-PL yet to discover-INF island-PL
'these two beautiful yet-to-be-discovered islands'

The gerunds of the type *nog te ontdekken* 'yet to be discovered' have a modal meaning ('which one will/may/must still discover'). For the order of elements in the middle field, see section 5.2.

The final field in the noun phrase, like the final field in the clause (see section 4.5), is occupied by PPs and clauses:

(5.13) *The final field in the noun phrase*

a. Tasman=z'n reis **naar Nieuw Zeeland**
Tasman=PCL:3SG.M voyage to New Zealand
'Tasman's voyage to New Zealand'

b. de claim **dat hij het Zuidland ge-zie-n had**
DEF.CG.SG claim C 3SG.M DEF.N.SG South Land GE-see-N have:PAST.SG
'the claim that he had sighted the South Land'

PPs and clauses can occur nowhere else in the noun phrase. Relative clauses are likewise postnominal:

(5.14) het land **dat Tasman ontdek-t had**
DEF.N.SG land C Tasman GE:discover-D have:PAST.SG
'the land that Tasman discovered'

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The clause in the final field may be infinitival (the complementizer *om* is not obligatory here and feels somewhat redundant to this author):

(5.15) de poging (om) het Zuidland te vind-en
DEF.CG.SG attempt C DEF.N.SG South Land to find-INF
'the attempt to find the South Land'

The infinitival clause is not transparent, in the sense that no material from it may appear in the nominal middle field; the noun and the infinitive do not form a cluster like the verbs in the clause do (see section 4.2):

(5.16) *de het Zuidland poging te vind-en
DEF.CG.SG DEF.N.SG South Land attempt to find-INF

Just like the clausal final field, the nominal final field may contain multiple constituents:

(5.17)
de poging [van Tasman] [(om) het Zuidland te vind-en]
DEF.CG.SG attempt of Tasman C DEF.N.SG South Land to find-INF
'Tasman's attempt to find the South Land'

The order here is not fixed:

(5.18) de poging [(om) het Zuidland te vind-en]
DEF.CG.SG attempt C DEF.N.SG South Land to find-INF
[van Tasman]
of Tasman
'Tasman's attempt to find the South Land'

These examples illustrate a very common use of the postnominal PP, namely that of expressing the possessor in a possessive construction. Thus we find the alternation in (5.19):

(5.19) *Possessive constructions*
a. Tasman=z'n reis
Tasman=POSS.CL:3SG.M voyage
'Tasman's voyage'
b. de reis van Tasman
DEF.CG.SG voyage of Tasman
'Tasman's voyage'

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Other elements appearing in the final field of the noun phrase are temporal and locative adverbials like *vorig jaar* 'last year' and *hier* 'here,' and the focus marker *zelf* 'self':

(5.20) a. Tasman=z'n reis vorig jaar
Tasman=POSS.CL:3SG.M voyage last year
'Tasman's voyage last year'

b. die Maori-s daar
DEM:DIST.PL Maori-PL DEM:LOC.DIST
'those Maoris over there'

c. de reis zelf
DEF.CG.SG voyage self
'the voyage itself'

The focus marker follows the adverbials:

(5.21) die Maori-s daar zelf
DEM:DIST.PL Maori-PL DEM:LOC.DIST self
'those Maoris themselves over there'

A difference between PPs and clauses on the one hand and adverbials and the focus marker on the other hand is that the PPs and clauses may be separated from the head noun by the (clause-level) adversative particle *echter*:

(5.22) a. De eerst-e reis (echter) van Tasman (echter)
DEF.CG.SG first-DEF voyage ADVS of Tasman ADVS
was een ramp
be:PAST.SG INDF.SG disaster
'But Tasman's first voyage was a disaster.'

b. De eerst-e poging (echter) om het Zuidland
DEF.CG.SG first-DEF voyage ADVS C DEF.N.SG South Land
te vind-en (echter) misluk-te
to find-INF ADVS fail-PAST.SG
'But the first attempt to find the South Land failed.'

c. De eerst-e reis (*echter) zelf (echter) was
DEF.CG.SG first-DEF voyage ADVS self ADVS be:PAST.SG
een ramp
INDF.SG disaster
'But the first voyage itself was a disaster.'

d. Dat het-e eten (*echter) daar (echter)
DEM:DIST.INAN.SG hot-DEF food ADVS DEM:DIST.LOC ADVS

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was een ramp
be:PAST.SG INDF.SG disaster
'But that spicy food over there was a disaster.'

In addition to the phenomena discussed so far, Dutch has a number of noun–noun constructions where the first noun appears to function as the head of the phrase:

(5.23) a. *Partitives*
een troep Maori-s
a bunch Maori-PL
'a bunch of Maoris'

b. *Classifiers*
twee vel papier
two sheet paper
'two sheets of paper'

c. *Names and titles*
het dorp Lutjegast
DEF.N.SG village Lutjegast
'the village of Lutjegast'

5.2 The order of attributive modifiers

Of the elements appearing in the nominal middle field (the area between the determiners and the noun), the cardinal numerals stand out in not taking any agreement inflection:

(5.24) *Cardinal numerals*
vier-(*e) eiland-en
four-PL island-PL
'four islands'

The ordinal numerals never show any agreement either, but this may be because the ordinal suffix (*-ste/-de*) ends in a schwa already:

(5.25) *Ordinal numerals*
een eer-st*(e) schip
INDF.SG ere-SUP $ship_N$
'a first ship'
(*eerste* 'first' is formally the superlative of the root **eer* 'early'; cf. *eer-der* [early-CMP] 'earlier')

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As noted in section 2.3, attributive adjectives are marked by the suffix *-e* [ə], except in a singular indefinite noun phrase headed by a neuter noun. If the ordinal numerals showed agreement, no schwa ending would appear in the noun phrases in (5.25), as *schip* 'ship' is a neuter noun.

In spoken standard Dutch, gerunds also end in a schwa, so that here, too, agreement is not manifest:

(5.26) *Gerunds*

a. een te ontdek-ken eiland
ɔndɛk-ə
INDF.SG to discover-INF island$_N$
'the island to be discovered'

b. de te ontdek-ken eiland-en
ɔndɛk-ə
DEF.PL to discover-INF island$_N$-PL
'the islands to be discovered'

However, with certain irregular verbs the gerund (i.e. the infinitive) ends in *-n*, and here the agreement is manifest:

(5.27) *Gerunds of irregular verbs*

a. een te verstaan antwoord
INDF.SG to understand answer$_N$
'an interpretable answer'

b. de te verstan-e antwoord-en
DEF.PL to understand-PL answer$_N$-PL
'the interpretable answers'

Attributive adjectives lose the agreement ending under certain conditions. Compare:

(5.28) *Nonagreeing adjectives*

a. een knap-pe schrijver
INDF.SG handsome-INDF.CG.SG writer$_{CG}$
'a handsome/smart writer' (not necessarily accomplished)
'an accomplished writer' (not necessarily handsome or smart)

b. een knap schrijver
INDF.SG handsome writer
'an accomplished writer' (not necessarily handsome or smart)
(*not* 'a handsome writer')

In (5.28b), *knap* 'handsome' modifies the referent of *schrijver* 'writer' as a writer (i.e. modifies the way in which he writes), not as a person. The adjective loses an

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ambiguity that is normally present (see (5.28a)). This effect occurs only in the indefinite singular, i.e. the condition under which adjectives modifying a neuter noun are marked by a zero ending. Another example is given in (5.29):

(5.29) a. een goed-e koning
INDF.SG good-INDF.CG.SG king$_{CG}$
'a good king'
b. een goed koning
INDF.SG good king
'a good king'

In (5.29b), the king is said to be good as a king, whereas in (5.29a) his goodness may be interpreted in more ways (e.g. he is goodhearted, or just, or the good guy in a story, etc.).

The special interpretation forced by the absence of the adjectival agreement marker is not available with predicative adjectives:

(5.30) De schrijver is knap
DEF.CG.SG writer$_{CG}$ be:3SG handsome
'The writer is a handsome person / smart.'
(*not* 'The writer is an accomplished writer.')

Hence, (5.31) has only one of two possible (nontautological) interpretations:

(5.31) Deze twee knap-pe schrijver-s zijn allebei knap
DEM:PROX.PL two handsome-PL writer-PL be:PL both handsome
'These two accomplished writers are both handsome persons.'
(*not* 'These two handsome writers are both accomplished writers.')

These facts indicate that prenominal attributive adjectives in Dutch may be construed with the head noun in two different ways, one resembling predication, and another one crucially differing from the first one in that a predicative paraphrase is not available. If set intersection is the hallmark of predication, the special use of the adjective that gives rise to absence of agreement may be referred to as nonintersective; I will also use the more general term *direct modification* for this type of attributive adjective (see also Bolinger 1967 for English, Sproat and Shi 1988 for Mandarin Chinese, and Cinque 1993 for Italian; Van der Lubbe 1958: 115 calls direct modifying adjectives 'descriptive' and indirect modifying adjectives 'distinctive'). (Note that intersectivity etc. is not taken to be an inherent property of a certain class of adjectives here, but a particular way of construing an adjective with a noun.)

The absence of the agreement marker is not a general property of nonintersective/direct modifying adjectives in Dutch. But the distinction between indirect and

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direct modification is crucial to the ordering of prenominal modifiers in the Dutch noun phrase, in the sense that direct modifying adjectives are closer to the head noun than indirect modifying adjectives. This can be seen in examples like (5.32), where adjectives of both construction types cooccur in a single noun phrase:

(5.32) een knap-pe$_1$ knap-pe$_2$ schrijver
INDF.SG handsome-INDF.CG.SG handsome-INDF.CG.SG writer
'a handsome$_1$ accomplished$_2$ writer'
(*not* 'an accomplished handsome writer')

Examples like (5.32) allow only one kind of reading differentation between the two adjectives: the rightmost adjective has the direct modification reading, and the leftmost adjective has the indirect modification reading. (Note that in this situation, the adjectival agreement on the direct modification adjective *knappe*$_2$ cannot be left out.)

Direct modification often leads to an interpretation where the property referred to by the adjective is an inherent property of the referent of the head noun. As the example in (5.33) shows, adjectives referring to an inherent property must be closer to the head noun than adjectives referring to a transient property:

(5.33) de onzichtbar-e$_1$ zichtbar-e$_2$ ster-ren
DEF.PL invisible-PL visible-PL star-PL
'the visible$_2$ stars that happen to be invisible$_1$'

In (5.33), *zichtbare* 'visible' refers to the inherent property of being visible (i.e. being not too distant or too small), while *onzichtbare* 'invisible' refers to the transient property of being blocked from view (i.e. by meteorological conditions).

The distinction between direct and indirect modifying adjectives cuts into the proposed universal hierarchy of semantic adjective types in (5.34) (see Vendler 1968, Roose 1956: 119), in the sense that an adjective construed as direct modifying follows an adjective construed as indirect modifying, regardless of semantic type.

(5.34) *Universal hierarchy of adjective types*
QUALITY > SIZE > SHAPE > COLOR > ORIGIN

When two adjectives are understood as both indirectly modifying (intersective, distinctive), they appear in the order predicted by (5.34):

(5.35) een rod-e hongaars-e auto
INDF.SG red-INDF.CG.SG Hungarian-INDF.CG.SG car$_{CG}$
'a red Hungarian car'
(a car which is red$_{COLOR}$ and Hungarian$_{ORIGIN}$)

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But when *rode* 'red' is construed as direct modifying, it must follow the indirect modifying adjective *hongaarse* 'Hungarian':

(5.36) een hongaars-e rod-e wijn
INDF.SG hungarian-INDF.CG.SG red-INDF.CG.SG wine_{CG}
'a Hungarian red wine' (a red wine which is Hungarian)

Rode in (5.36) is not predicative, in the sense that a red wine need not have a red color, and hence it appears closer to the head noun.

It appears that even the placement of numerals and gerunds with respect to adjectives is subject to the principle that direct modification requires adjacency to the head noun. Compare the translations of the a- and b-examples of (5.37) and (5.38).

(5.37) a. de lastig-e te nem-en maatregel-en
DEF.PL difficult-PL to take-INF measure-PL
'the measures we had to take that were hard'

b. de te nemen lastig-e maatregel-en
DEF.PL to take-INF hard-PL measure-PL
'the hard measures that we had to take'

(5.38) a. Tasman=z'n twee-de belangrijk-e reis
Tasman=PCL:3SG.M two-ORD important-DEF.SG trip
'Tasman's second trip of significance.'

b. Tasman=z'n belangrijk-e twee-de reis
Tasman=PCL:3SG.M important-DEF.SG two-ORD trip
'Tasman's important second trip.'

5.3 Adjective phrase structure

For the analysis of adjective phrase structure it will be necessary to distinguish attributive (noun modifying) adjectives and adjectives appearing as the predicate in a copular construction (called 'predicative' adjectives here):

(5.39) *Attributive vs. predicative adjectives*

a. die prachtig-e eiland-en
DEM:DIST.PL beautiful-PL island-PL
'these beautiful islands'

b. Die eiland-en zijn prachtig
DEM:DIST.PL island-PL be:PL beautiful
'These islands are beautiful.'

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Predicative adjectives are followed by PPs and clauses:

(5.40) a. Tasman was bang voor de Maori-s
Tasman be:PAST.SG afraid for DEF.PL Maori-PL
'Tasman was afraid of the Maoris.'

b. Tasman was bang dat de Maori-s zoud-en
Tasman be:PAST.SG afraid C DEF.PL Maori-PL MOD:PAST-PL
aan val-len
on fall-INF
'Tasman was afraid that the Maoris might attack.'

This is impossible with attributive adjectives, which must be adjacent to the head noun:

(5.41) a. *de bang-(e) voor de Maori-s kapitein
DEF.CG.SG afraid-DEF.SG for DEF.PL Maori-PL captain$_{CG}$
(intended: 'the captain who was afraid of the Maoris')

b. *de bang-(e) dat de Maori-s zoud-en aan
DEF.CG.SG afraid-DEF.SG C DEF.PL Maori-PL MOD:PAST-PL on
val-len kapitein
fall-INF captain$_{CG}$
(intended: 'the captain who was afraid that the Maoris might attack')

A PP may be fronted in the attributive adjective phrases, yielding a marginal but not ungrammatical result:

(5.42) de voor de Maori-s bang-e kapitein
DEF.CG.SG for DEF.PL Maori-PL afraid-DEF.SG captain$_{CG}$
'the captain that was afraid of the Maoris'

This option is not available for clauses.

Other pre-adjectival modifiers in the adjective phrase include (in this order) locative adverbs, time adverbs, and degree markers:

(5.43) de **hier** **altijd** **zeer** krijgshaftig-e Maori-s
DEF.PL DEM:PROX.LOC always very bellicose-PL Maori-PL
'the Maoris who are always very bellicose around here'

If a degree marker is associated with a standard expressing phrase, that phrase appears in the nominal final field:

(5.44) een **zo** krijgshaftig-e Maori **als** **deze**
INDF.SG so bellicose-INDF.CG.SG Maori$_{CG}$ as DEM:PROX.CG
'a Maori as bellicose as this one'

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If the standard expressing phrase is or ends in an adjective, it may also intervene between the attributive adjective and the head noun (even obligatorily in (5.45a)). In this case, the adjective that is (part of) the standard expressing phrase takes the agreement suffix *-e*:

(5.45) a. een **zo** goed **mogelijk-e** oplossing
INDF.SG so good possible-INDF.CG.SG solution. CG
'an optimal solution'

b. een beter **dan** **gebruikelijk-e** oplossing
INDF.SG good:CMP than usual-INDF.CG.SG solution$_{CG}$
'a better than usual solution'

A fronted PP like *voor de Maori's* 'of the Maoris' in (5.42) precedes the other pre-adjectival modifiers. The same position is occupied by noun phrase complements selected by a closed class of adjectives (preferably used predicatively):

(5.46) Tasman was het reiz-en (zo) beu
Tasman be:PAST.SG DEF.N.SG travel-NML so fed.up
'Tasman was so fed up with traveling'

A further class of adverbs preceding the adjective is illustrated in (5.47):

(5.47)
Tasman=z'n ethisch weinig verantwoord-e optred-en
Tasman=PCL:3SG.M ethically few sound-DEF.SG act-NML
'Tasman's action which was hardly ethically responsible'

We may call these adverbs of respect, and they appear between the time adverbs and the degree markers, although placement behind the degree adverbs is also possible.

Negation inside the adjective phrase is placed right before the degree markers:

(5.48)
Zijn optred-en was ethisch **niet** bijzonder verantwoord
POSS:3SG.M act-NML be:PAST.SG ethically NEG particularly responsible
'His action was ethically not particularly sound.'

Without a degree marker present, the preferred expression of negation in the adjective phrase involves the negative marker *on-* prefixed to the adjective:

(5.49) zijn ethisch on-verantwoord-e optred-en
POSS.3SG.M ethically NEG-responsible-DEF.SG act-NML
'his ethically irresponsible action'

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Finally, it should be noted that some expressions that are formally not adjectives do display adjective morphology and syntax. These include *bij de hand* [lit. at (the) hand] 'smart' and *verre van eenvoudig* 'far from simple':

(5.50)

a. een bij de hand-e scheep-s-maat
hɑntə
INDF.SG by DEF.CG.SG hand-DEF.SG ship-LNK-mate
'a smart ship's mate'
(note that *hand* has undergone the final devoicing of word-final consonants)

b. een verre van eenvoudig-e opdracht
INDF.SG far of simple-INDF.CG.SG assignment
'a far from simple assignment'

Both *bij de hand* and *verre van eenvoudig* are headed by a preposition and should be regarded as PPs at some level of analysis, but the agreement ending indicates that these phrases are treated as attributive adjectives.

5.4 Nominalization

Dutch has productive processes turning a verb or verbal projection into a noun phrase or adjective phrase. The verb in these processes has the form of an infinitive (nominalization) or participle (adjectivalization).

While a bare infinitive is already a nominalized form of the verb, nominalization in Dutch may involve more structure, involving elements from both nominal and verbal (clausal) syntax:

(5.51) **dat** **volstrekt** **overbodig-e** *alsmaar* *eiland-en*
DEM:DIST.INAN utter superfluous-DEF.SG all.the.time island-PL
ontdek-**ken** **van** **Tasman**
discover-NML of Tasman
'that utterly redundant activity of discovering islands all the time that Tasman does'

In (5.51), the boldface elements belong to the nominal phrase structure: the determiner *dat* 'that,' the adjective *overbodige* 'superfluous,' agreeing with the head noun *ontdekken* 'discovering' (formally an infinitive, but glossed here as a nominalized verb), the degree marker *volstrekt* 'utter' modifying *overbodige*, the nominalizing affix *-(k)en*, and the possessor PP *van Tasman* 'of Tasman.' The material in italics belongs to the clausal/verbal phrase structure: the adverb *alsmaar* 'all

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the time,' the nonspecific indefinite object *eilanden* 'islands,' and the verbal root *ontdek-* 'discover.'

As the example illustrates, the verbal/clausal material must be properly contained within the nominal material. Compare also:

(5.52)

a. **dat** **vervelend-e** *alsmaar* *eiland-en* *ontdek*-**ken**
DEM:DIST.INAN annoying-DEF.SG all.the.time island-PL discover-NML
'that annoying [habit of] discovering islands all the time'

b. ***dat** *alsmaar* **vervelend-e** *eiland-en* *ontdek*-**ken**
DEM:DIST.INAN all.the.time annoying-DEF.SG island-PL discover-NML
(not intended is the irrelevant reading where *alsmaar* 'all the time' modifies the adjective *vervelende* 'annoying')

Clausal material appearing in the nominalization includes elements located relatively high in the clausal middle field, such as discourse particles like *even* 'just' and time adverbials like *in 1642* (which are absent from ordinary noun phrases):

(5.53) a. **dat** *even* *het* *Zuidland* *vind*-**en**
DEM:DIST.INAN just DEF.N.SG South Land find-NML
'that [accomplishment of] finding the South Land (in a jiffy)'

b. die (*even) vondst van het Zuidland
DEM:DIST.CG just finding of DEF.N.SG South Land
'that finding of the South Land (*not*: in a jiffy)'

(5.54) a. het *in* *1642* *ontdek*-**ken** **van** **Nieuw Zeeland**
DEF.N.SG in 1642 discover-NML of New Zealand
'discovering New Zealand in 1642'

b. de (*in 1642) ontdekking van Nieuw Zeeland
DEF.CG.SG in 1642 discovery of New Zealand
'the discovery of New Zealand (*not*: in 1642)'

Objects in nominalizations are preferably nonspecific; specific and definite objects are more naturally expressed in a postnominal PP (as in (5.54a)). Clauses likewise must appear postnominally:

(5.55) **dat** *alsmaar* *vol* *blijv-en* *houd*-**en**
DEM:DIST.INAN all the time full keep-INF hold-NML
dat *het* *Zuidland* *bestaa-t*
C DEF.N.SG South Land exist-2/3SG
'to keep maintaining all the time that the South Land exists'

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Adjectivalizations are built on a present or perfect participle, and show the same mixed properties as nominalizations:

(5.56) a. **die** **briljant-e** *alsmaar* *eiland-en*
DEM:DIST.CG.SG brilliant-DEF.SG all.the.time island-PL
ontdek-**kend-e** **zeevaarder**
discover-PRES.PART-DEF.SG seafarer
'that brilliant sea farer who is discovering islands all the time'

b. het *in* *1642* *door* *Tasman* *ontdek*-**t-e**
DEF.N.SG in 1642 through Tasman GE:discover-D-DEF.SG
Nieuw Zeeland
New Zealand
'the New Zealand that was discovered by Tasman in 1642'

5.5 Preposition phrase structure

In discussing the syntax of adpositions in Dutch, we must distinguish a closed class of (mostly monosyllabic) core prepositions, and an open class of (morphologically more complex) derived prepositions (Zwarts 1997). Some representatives are given in (5.57) (see appendix 2 for a complete list):

(5.57) *Two types of prepositions*

a. Core prepositions	b. Derived prepositions
in 'in'	*namens* 'in the name of' (< *naam* 'name')
uit 'out'	*richting* 'in the direction of' (*richting* 'direction')
op 'up'(on)	*volgens* 'according to' (< *volgen* 'follow')
aan 'on' (at)	*aangaande* 'concerning' (< *aangaan* 'concern')
van 'of'	*overeenkomstig* 'in agreement with'
door 'through'	(< *overeenkomen* 'agree')
met 'with'	*ondanks* 'despite' (< *on* NEG, *dank* 'grace')
bij 'by' (near)	*halverwege* 'halfway' (< *half* 'half,' *weg* 'way')
naar 'to'	*krachtens* 'by force of' (< *kracht* 'strength')
voor 'for' (in front of)	*vanwege* 'because of' (< *van* 'of,' *weg* 'way')
achter 'after' (behind)	*tijdens* 'during' (< *tijd* 'time')

The b-class also contains borrowed prepositions, such as *inclusief* 'including,' *via* 'via,' and *qua* 'qua.'

Both classes differ in a number of ways, as discussed by Zwarts (1997). First, the core prepositions generally have a clear spatial meaning, while the derived prepositions may express relations of any kind. Second, the core prepositions may

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generally be used as (intransitive) predicates, while the derived prepositions (with few exceptions) may not:

(5.58) a. De bal is in/uit
DEF.CG.SG ball be:3SG in/out
'The ball is {in/out of} play.'

b. Wij zit-ten voor/achter
1PL sit-PL for/after
'We are in the {front/back}.

Some of the core prepositions have a special form in this predicative use:

(5.59) a. *met* > *mee*
Wij zijn mee
1PL be:PL with
'We have come along.'

b. *naar* > *heen*
Hij is heen
3SG.M be:3SG towards
'He is gone.'

c. *van* > *af*
Hij is af
3SG.M be:3SG off
'He is out of it (sc. out of the game).'

d. *tot* > *toe*
De deur is toe
DEF.CG.SG door be:3SG to
'The door is closed.'

A third difference between core and derived prepositions is that core prepositions (or their alternations) may be part of a nominal or verbal compound:

(5.60) a. *in*
N: *in-gooi* V: *in-gooi-en*
in-throw in-throw-INF
'throw' 'throw in'

b. *op*
N: *op-stand* V: *op-staa-n*
up-standing up-stand-INF
'insurgence' 'get up'

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c. *tot*
N: *toe-stand* V: *toe-staa-n*
to-standing to-stand-INF
'situation' 'permit'

Core prepositions may even be turned into verbs, nouns, or adjectives through derivational morphology:

(5.61) *uit*
N: uit-je V: uit-en A: uit-er-st
out-DIM out-INF out-ER-SUP
'outing' 'express' 'extreme'

The core prepositions used in verbal compounds have been mentioned earlier as verbal particles (section 4.1). Indeed, derived prepositions rarely, if ever, appear as verbal particles. (Zwarts 1997 takes *rond* 'around' to be one of the b-class prepositions, but *rond* can be used as a verbal particle.)

With few exceptions, the core prepositions also partake in the formation of circumpositions, again unlike the derived prepositions:

(5.62) a. *tegen* iets *aan*
against something on
'onto something, touching something'

b. *tussen* iets *door*
between something through
'through something'

c. *over* iets *heen*
over something towards
'across something'

The circumpositions are all directional. Core prepositions may also take a prepositional complement, leading to complex prepositions like *boven-in* 'in the upper region of,' *achter-aan* 'attached to the rear part,' *van-af* 'from,' *tegen-over* 'opposite,' and *onder-op* 'at the bottom (of a pile)' (again *rond* behaves like the core prepositions here, giving rise to *rond-om* 'all around'). These complex prepositions themselves show much of the behavior of core prepositions, e.g. in appearing as intransitive predicates.

Fifth, some of the core prepositions have an (optional) secondary use as a postposition. This is not the case with any of the derived prepositions. Typically, the postposition is a directional variant of a basically locative preposition, as in:

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(5.63) a. De kat zat **op** de mat
DEF.CG.SG cat sit:PAST.SG up DEF.CG.SG mat
'The cat was sitting on the mat.'

b. De kat sprong de mat **op**
DEF.CG.SG cat jump:PAST.SG DEF.CG.SG mat up
'The cat jumped onto the mat.'

Prepositions showing the locative/directional alternation in this way are *in* 'in,' *op* 'on,' *over* 'over,' *langs* 'along,' *uit* 'out of,' *door*, 'through,' and *voorbij* 'past.' (Of Zwarts' b-class prepositions, only *rond* 'around' shows the same alternation.) While some of these prepositions already imply directionality along a path (such as *langs*, *door*, and *voorbij*), turning the preposition into a postposition specifies that the motion has an endpoint. Compare:

(5.64) a. Tasman liep langs de matroz-en
Tasman walk:PAST.SG along DEF.PL sailor-PL
'Tasman was walking alongside the (line of) sailors.'

b. Tasman liep de matroz-en langs
Tasman walk:PAST.SG DEF.PL sailor-PL along
'Tasman walked to the end of the line of sailors.'

It should be noted, however, that while the postpositions are purely directional, the prepositions may generally be both locational or directional. Compare (5.65) and (5.63b):

(5.65) De kat sprong **op** de mat
DEF.CG.SG cat jump:PAST.SG up DEF.CG.SG mat
'The cat jumped onto the mat.'

The postpositions can be clearly distinguished from the verbal particles. Consider the pair in (5.66):

(5.66) a. *Verbal particle*
Het kamermeisje schud-de het bed op
DEF.N.SG chamber.maid shake-PAST.SG DEF.N.SG bed up
'The chamber maid made the bed.'

b. *Postposition*
Het kamermeisje sprong het bed op
DEF.N.SG chamber.maid jump:PAST.SG DEF.N.SG bed up
'The chamber maid jumped onto the bed.'

In (5.66b), *het bed op* is a constituent that may be fronted into the initial field of the clause. In (5.66a), this is not possible:

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(5.67)
Het bed op {sprong / *schud-de} het kamermeisje
DEF.N.SG bed up jump:PAST.SG / shake-PAST.SG DEF.N.SG chamber.maid
'The chamber maid jumped onto the bed.'
(not: 'The chamber maid made the bed.')

It should be noted that the postpositional construction does not require adjacency of the postposition and its complement:

(5.68) De kat sprong de mat weer op
DEF.CG.SG cat jump:PAST.SG DEF.CG.SG mat again up
'The cat jumped back onto the mat.'

In contrast, prepositions (both core and derived) and their complements are strictly adjacent.

A further distinction between the core prepositions and the derived prepositions is that the complement of a core preposition takes on locative morphology in a number of cases (see (2.9)). This happens when the complement is the inanimate 3SG pronoun *het* (and colloquially also with other third-person pronouns), a demonstrative pronoun, an interrogative pronoun, or a quantifier. The locative element precedes the adposition:

(5.69) a. *met het > er mee
with 3SG.INAN LOC with
'with it'

b. *met dat > daar mee
with DEM:DIST.INAN DEM:LOC.DIST with
'with that'

c. *met wat > waar mee
with Q.INAN Q.LOC with
'with what'

d. *met iets > ergens mee
with INDF.INAN INDF.LOC with
'with something'

e. *met alles > overal mee
with Q:UNIV.INAN Q:UNIV.LOC with
'with everything'

In relevant cases, the form of the postposition is the same as that of the predicative preposition (see (5.59)). Again, the complement of the postposition need not be adjacent to the postposition:

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(5.70) Tasman schreef er niet over
Tasman write:PAST.SG LOC NEG over
'Tasman didn't write about it.'

Questioning the complement of a core preposition, then, requires locativization (also called 'R-pronominalization') of the complement, which can then be fronted, stranding the preposition. Since locativization is restricted to the complement of core prepositions, it follows that stranded prepositions are invariably core prepositions. Questioning the complement of a derived preposition is done by pied-piping the preposition:

(5.71) Namens wie sprak Tasman?
in.the.name.of Q.HUMAN speak:PAST.SG Tasman
'In whose name did Tasman speak?'

(Zwarts 1997 takes this property of requiring locativization and allowing stranding to define the two classes of prepositions; since *rond* does not allow locativization and stranding, Zwarts takes it to be a b-class preposition.)

Two further distinctions between core and derived prepositions are that core prepositions may head selected complement PPs (5.72a), and allow premodification (5.72b):

(5.72) a. Tasman hield van Nieuw Zeeland
Tasman hold:PAST.SG of New Zealand
'Tasman loved New Zealand.'

b. Tasman voer vlak langs de kust
Tasman sail:PAST.SG flat along DEF.CG.SG coast
'Tasman sailed close by the coast.'

Likewise, core prepositions, but not derived prepositions, may head PPs functioning as secondary predicates:

(5.73) Tasman gooi-de de kokosnot-en in het water
Tasman throw-PAST.SG DEF.PL coconut-PL in DEF.N.SG water
'Tasman threw the coconuts into the water.'

In (5.73), *in het water* 'into the water' predicates the location at which the coconuts end up as a result of the throwing event. The derived (class-b) prepositions typically head adjunct PPs and do not allow premodification.

Now that we have outlined the distinction between core and derived prepositions, the syntax of the prepositional phrase is relatively straightforward. Prepositions, when not used intransitively, are followed by an adjacent complement, generally a noun phrase, but core prepositions may be followed by a prepositional phrase, an adverbial, or a clause as well:

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(5.74)

a. tot in Nieuw Zeeland
   to in New Zealand
   'until we have reached New Zealand'

b. voor volgend jaar
   for next year

c. van toen Nieuw Zeeland nog niet ontdek-t was
   of DEM:DIST.TEMP New Zealand yet NEG GE:discover-D be:PAST.SG
   'from the time before the discovery of New Zealand'

d. voor dat Nieuw Zeeland ontdek-t was
   for C New Zealand GE:discover-D be:PAST.SG
   'before New Zealand was discovered'

Only a small number of the derived prepositions, such as *gegeven* 'given,' *ondanks* 'despite' and *zonder* 'without,' may have a clausal complement. (Speakers actually vary as to whether they allow locativization with *zonder*, suggesting that its status is unclear.)

Complements precede the adposition when the adposition enters a locational/directional alternation, as in (5.63), or when the complement undergoes locativization (5.69). In these cases, the complement is not adjacent to the adposition. In the context of a clause, the complement finds a position among the objects in the middle field (see (5.70)), or may be fronted to the initial field. In the context of a noun phrase, the nonadjacency can be shown by the position of adverbs like *weer* 'again':

(5.75) de weg het bos weer in
DEF.CG.SG way DEF.N.SG forest again in
'the road back into the forest'

Adpositional modifiers like *vlak* 'right' and *recht, pal* 'straight' precede the preposition (see (5.72b)). In postpositional constructions, the modifiers preferably appear between the locativized complement and the adposition:

(5.76) Tasman voer daar vlak langs
Tasman sail:PAST.SG DEM:LOC.DIST right along
'Tasman sailed close by that place.'

With postpositions resulting from a locational/directional alternation, premodification appears to be difficult, but the cases that can be found indicate that the modifier must precede the complement:

(5.77) Tasman keek pal de zaal in
Tasman look:PAST.SG straight DEF.CG.SG room in
'Tasman looked straight into the room.'

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Circumpositional PPs are like postpositional PPs in that adverbs like *weer* appear right before the final adposition:

(5.78) a. de weg tussen de bom-en weer door
DEF.CG.SG way between DEF.PL tree-PL again through
'the road back through the trees'

b. *de weg tussen weer de bom-en door
DEF.CG.SG way between again DEF.PL tree-PL through

This suggests that the structure of circumpositional PPs is as in (5.79)

(5.79) *Circumpositional PPs*
$[_{PP1}\ [_{PP2}$ P DP] (adv) P]

As to the structure of the derived (class-b) prepositions, the reader is referred to Zwarts (1997) and appendix 2. I will however point out one subclass of derived prepositions, because it involves the applicative prefix *be-*. This class consists of the following prepositions:

(5.80) *Applicative prepositions*

be-noord-en	be-zijd-en	be-ned-en
APPL-north-EN	APPL-side-EN	APPL-*low*-EN
'north of'	'off'	'beneath, downstairs'

(likewise: *beoosten* 'east of,' *bezuiden* 'south of,' *bewesten* 'west of')

Just like applicative verbs, applicative prepositions take a noun phrase complement, allowing a paraphrase in which the complement is expressed in a preposition:

(5.81) a. **be**-zijd-en de waarheid
APPL-side-EN DEF.CG.SG truth
'aside from the truth'

b. aan de zijkant **van** de waarheid
on DEF.CG.SG side of DEF.CG.SG truth
'to the side of [i.e. away from] the truth'

(5.82) a. het strand **be**-zet-ten met pal-en
DEF.N.SG beach APPL-put-INF with pole-PL
'stick poles in the beach'

b. pal-en **op** het strand zet-ten
pole-PL up DEF.N.SG beach put-INF
'stick poles in the beach'

Three of the class-a prepositions also show the morphology of applicative formation:

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(5.83)

a. binnen	b. buiten	c. boven
be-in-nen	be-uit-en	be-op-en
APPL-in-EN	APPL-out-EN	APPL-up-EN
‘inside’	‘outside’	‘above, upstairs’

These prepositions may be paraphrased as ‘at the inside/outside/upside of.’ The morphology suggests that at least these core prepositions have made the transition from the class of the derived prepositions.

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